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[For a discussion of the development of Denmark Vesey's conspiracy and insurrection in South Carolina, see Category 175, pp. 150-166.]

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Sunday as a day of pleasure. Certainly, it was difficult to convince slaves that they should be more exemplary than their masters. These early Carolinians were described as a boisterous lot, frequently engaging in "cursing, swearing, drinking and gaming and barbarous misuse of their Negroes." For ministers and missionaries then, there was the double obstacle of combatting "the strong prejudices" of Africans "grown in years," and "the backwardness of masters."[46]

Not all masters were "backward." Some, such as Hugh Bryan, were atypical in that instead of depriving slaves of Christianity, it was sometimes forced upon them. Bryan was accused of inciting the St. Helena slaves to revolt in 1741, when he was probably just attempting to provide religious instruction. His utterances may have generated some discontent among the slaves since he counseled in words similar to those used by Whitefield in his letter to slaveholders. But Whitefield was speaking to masters not to slaves. As ill-advised and eccentric as Hugh Bryan's statements may have been, he was a planter, and as his letter of apology reaffirmed, was in sympathy with the planter cause. He soon settled down to a less public life. But his diary and letters indicate that the spiritual welfare of his slaves was a continual concern. Still, he seems to have been no more successful in creating a change of heart among his bondspeople than he was in mastering his own sense of sin and guilt. Some slaves were baptized and admitted into the Stoney Creek Church, as demonstrated by the church register. Their numbers were small, probably household servants. And, slaves were listed only for baptism, while the baptism, marriage, and burial of whites was recorded.[47]

Of course, church lists do not tell the whole story. And while few slaves cared to convince the Stoney Creek white membership that they had a "true experience," some probably had to listen to sermons and instruction in their "duty." Certainly Bryan's slaves were rarely deleted from his fervent prayers. He found them inattentive and continued to pray for them. "My servants were called to prayers, but none came," he wrote on one occasion. On another he wrote of it being "a time of trial and uneasiness from the disobedience of servants. . . ." Thus the slaves heard but did not listen and Bryan's frustrations for his soul and theirs seemed to weigh heavy on his heart.[48]

It was a strange relationship between master and slaves. Bryan seemed sincere although his own spiritual enthusiasm was often mixed with periods of gay indulgence and the conviviality so common among individ-

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and fields where rice was being cultivated. It was generally expected that deprivation of food and shelter would "occasion them to disperse about the country, and it is hoped will be the means of most of them being soon taken up."[21]

Discontented slaves engaged in various forms of violence against the white community in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the city the most common act of resistance was setting fires. Numerous cases of arson were reported, and in 1797 three slaves were executed and two banished for attempting to burn Charleston. As historians who recognize the character of the African-American struggle have noted, the year 1800 was momentous. Gabriel's aborted uprising in Richmond, Virginia corresponded in time with the date of Denmark Vesey's purchase of freedom and Nat Turner's birth. Gabriel's attempt in 1800 may have inspired two failed South Carolina efforts later that same year. In September plantation slaves rebelled, killing several whites. Troops were ordered out but the insurgents held their ground for some time in the swamp regions before capture. Later in the year another outbreak began but was quickly dispersed. In 1804 in the Sea Island region south of Charleston, there was "a rumor afloat" that all slaves in the area were planning a revolt. Whites began taking guns to bed. The rumor was reportedly true and whites were saved by a slave informant just before the outbreak. The leaders were seized, quickly tried, and "ten or a dozen" condemned to death. Following execution, the slaves' "heads were cut off, stuck on poles, and set up along the highway, from Purrysburg, the place of the trial, to Coosawhatchie," the old Beaufort judicial seat. In 1805 news of a conspiracy in the up-country created panic and led to the death of at least one slave.[22]

Unrest in the Lowcountry continued, and was evident during the War of 1812 as well as afterwards. In this war between Britain and the fledgling nation, another overture to desert was made to the slaves of the southeast coast. Many responded and left with the British, 3,000 going to Nova Scotia. On one of the islands near Charleston, slaves in 1813 readied themselves for an anticipated British attack which would ignite a black insurrection. The gathering, in anticipation of the British and prospects of freedom, gave rise to a "freedom hymn." According to an informant, the hymn and account of its creation was given to him in 1835 by an English abolitionist-missionary, and was compiled by one of

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originally published as *Black Mother* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), 105; Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958; repr. from 1941 ed.), 34–40; Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), passim; Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518–1865* (New York: Viking Press, 1969), 14–20; The term Upper Guinea Coast has altered over centuries. Here our definition is taken from Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 2, 7; Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution, 1935), vol. 4, *The Southern Colonies*, passim; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (Atlantic Highlands, N. J.: Humanities Press, 1975), 58–60.

2. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 131; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 156; Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution," *American Historical Review* 33 (1927–28): 816–17; William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (London: James, John and Paul Knapton, 1734; London: Frank Cass, 1971), 173–74; William Smith, *A Voyage to Guinea* (London: John Nourse, 1744; London: Frank Cass, 1967), 135; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, trans. John Ralph Willis (Holland, 1704; 4th English ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 56–68; Mannix and Cowley, *Black Cargoes*, 17–18; Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 35; Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of Our Fathers*, 58–59.

3. Donnan, *Documents*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century*, 282.

4. Ibid., II:xxxi–xxxiii, 355; IV:301, 382.

5. Wood, *Black Majority*, 301–4, Appendix C, 333–41.

6. Douglas L. Wheeler and Rene Pelissier, *Angola* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), 28–51; Davidson, *African Trade*, 144–52; Donnan, *Documents*, II:xvii–xviii; Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 37. Roger Bastide has written that the official documents concerning the Portuguese trade were burned after slavery was suppressed "in an effort to expunge a blot on the country's escutcheon." See Roger Bastide, *African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilizations*, trans. Helen Sebba (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 33.

7. Jan Vansina, "Long Distance Trade Routes in Central Africa," *Journal of African History* 3 (1962): 375–90; Walter Rodney, "Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 3 (1966): 431, 440; Quoted from Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 37–38.

8. Vansina, "Trade Routes," 375–83; Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1949 ed.), passim; Winifred Vass, *The Bantu Speaking Heritage of the United States* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1979), 14–19. Wheeler and Pelissier, *Angola*, 6–10; Herskovits, *Negro Past*, 38; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 157, Table 45.

9. Wheeler and Pelissier, *Angola*, 6–10; Placide Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, trans. Colin King (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1959), passim; H. P. Junod, *Bantu Heritage* (Johannesburg: Hortors, 1938; Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1970), 59–67, 82–102, 125–33; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 103; *Gentleman's Magazine* 35 (October 1764): 487; Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 143; Augustine Smyth et al., *The Carolina Low Country* (New York: Macmillan, 1931) 173; Vass, *Bantu Heritage*, 3–5; Wood, *Black Majority*, 96–130, 195–217, 272–326; Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 11–15.

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10. Wood, *Black Majority*, 52–153, 324–35. From 1741 to 1743 a prohibitive duty was imposed. In 1744 four African cargoes arrived. No slave cargoes entered Charleston in 1745 and from 1746 and 1748 another prohibitive duty was in effect. Three African cargoes arrived in 1749 and 1750, respectively. By 1752 the trade was once again in full swing. Donnan, "Slave Trade before the Revolution," 807–8; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969; repr. from 1896 ed.), 9–10; W. Robert Higgins, "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70 (1971): 42–43.

11. Wood, *Black Majority*, 148, 323; Frank J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization* (Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1941), 69–70; 72; Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1730–1760* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 206, 230–32. Rice was never raised to any large extent on the Sea Islands since salt water in poisonous to the rice plant. Some Sea Islands did have a few fresh water ponds where rice was grown, but the amount was small and only for local consumption. Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of the North Carolina Press, 1930), 18; Frederick V. Emerson, "Geographical Influences in American Slavery," *Geographical Society Bulletin* 63 (1911): 108–9.

12. William A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1968), 51; Emerson, "Geographical Influences," 108–11; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719–1776* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 386–88; Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 35, 37, 46–47; Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729–1765*, (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, 1940), 37–38; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760–1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 84; Peter Wood offers interesting evidence which points to Africans' immunity to certain diseases, such as malaria. Yet, as he states, this was not "absolute." Moreover, Todd L. Savitt notes that malaria certainly took its toll in human losses among slaves. He maintains that some blacks did possess an inherited immunity to one or another strain of malaria. But adds that even adult African-born slaves had to go through a "seasoning" period because the "strains of malarial parasites in this country differed from those in their native lands." The "acquired" immunity that blacks reportedly developed was "risky," according to Savitt, since this involved repreated, uninterrupted exposure to malaria over a period of years. Furthermore, we must rely heavily on the words of colonial whites with a vested interest in rationalizing that blacks were more suited to labor in the Carolina swamps and marshes. Africans may have had a varied immunity to certain diseases, but it appears unlikely that this determined white attitudes toward black labor. For Wood, See *Black Majority* 85–88, 90–91. See also Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illiois Press, 1978), 21–26.

13. Schaper, *Sectionalism* 55–56; Emerson, "Georgraphical Influences," 112; Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 40–46; Johnson, *Social History*, 18–19; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, 267–69; Donnan, *Documents*, IV: passim; See Appendix A.

14. Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), 48; Philip M. Hamer, et al. eds., *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 10 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), IV: 294–95.

15. *SCG*, July 14, 1759.

16. Hamer, *Laurens Papers*, I:252, 331.

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51. Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*, 6–9; Wood, "Jesus Christ Has Got Thee," 1–2.
52. Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*, 10–11; Wood, "Jesus Christ Has Got Thee," 2.
53. Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*, 10–11; Wood, "Jesus Christ Has Got Thee," 2.
54. Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*, 13.
55. Ibid., 14, 36–37.
56. Ibid., 15–28, 31–33, 36–39.
57. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 45–56, 364, n. 3; Henry, *Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness*, 27, 61.
58. Henry, *Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness*, 96–98; Stephens, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 400.
59. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 484, 498–501 and II: 436–38; Anon., probably George Whitefield, *A Letter to the Negroes Lately Converted to Christ in America* (London: J. Hart, 1743), 3–6; Stein, "George Whitefield on Slavery," 243–56.
60. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, II: 438; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 5–6; Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 162.
61. Dallimore, *Whitefield, Great Evangelist*, I: 499–509; Klingberg, *Appraisal of the Negro*, 113–22; Joseph Ottolenghe to SPG, December 4, 1751 and July 12, 1758, SPG, London Mss. of Dr. Bray's Associates; Habersham to William Knox, July 17, 1765 and November 26, 1770, *Habersham Letters*, 38, 95–99, 102, Wood, *Black Majority*, 324–25; W. Robert Higgins, "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 70 (1971): 40; Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 83–86.
62. Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 160–65; Darold D. Wax, "Georgia and the Negro Before the American Revolution," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (March, 1967): 73–75.

5. *An Almost Chosen People*

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1. Lionel Kennedy and Thomas Parker, *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey*, Intro. by John Oliver Killens (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970; repr. from 1822 ed., and published under title: *An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes*), Bibliographic Note; Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly* 12 (September, 1863): 295; Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 11–12.

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2. Robert Starobin, ed., *Denmark Vesey: The Slave Conspiracy of 1822* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 11; John Lofton, *Denmark Vesey's Revolt* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983), 132–37; updated ed. of *Insurrection in South Carolina: The Turbulent World of Denmark Vesey* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1964); Harriott Pinckney Rutledge to Edward Rutledge, August 5, 1822, Pinckney Papers, 1744–1849, SCHS; William Jones to Samuel Jones, Jane Bruce Jones Mss, 1784–1831, SCL; F. A. Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and J. E. Evans, 1856), 130–31; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 4–14, 18, 21–22, 57–59, 111; Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 133–36.

3. Philip D. Morgan, "Colonial South Carolina Runaways: Their Significance for Slave Culture," *Slavery and Abolition* 6 no. 3 (1985): 57–58; Joseph Cepas Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800–1865* (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1938), 17, 19–24; Peter H. Wood. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 285–307, 314–35; Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 31–36; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 157. Although Morgan offers no explanation for the discrep-

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• [669] 4. *SCG*, September 8 to September 15, 1759, October 23, 1751, November 25, 1751, May 28 to June 4, 1754, June 16, 1758.

175 569 113 5. Ibid., September 14 to September 21, 1747, June 25 to July 2, 1750; Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 69; Jill M. Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only': Seminole Black Perceptions and the Second Seminole War," *UCLA Historical Journal* 7 (1986): 5–7; Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publishers, 1967; repr. from 1943 ed.), 197–98; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760–1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 92, 138.

6. *SCG*, March 4, 1756, April 29, 1754; Colonial Records of South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1739–1741*, 230, 505; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live For Ourselves Only'," 6–7.

7. Michael P. Johnson, "Runaway Slaves and the Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799–1820," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (July, 1981): 3, 418, 433–36, 441. Although Professor Johnson is dealing with a later period, his research is applicable for the eighteenth century; *SCG*, March 17, 1724, April 21, 1759.

175 113 8. *SCG*, September 17, 1772. This view of slavery in the Lowcountry, in terms of its harshness, is different from that of Philip Morgan. He cites, for example, the transition from a period of negative to one of positive increase, as an important indicator of less harsh conditions and more black autonomy. Yet Morgan's table on natural increase shows an annual rate of only 1.9 percent as the highest, from 1770–75. This rate of increase appears far too negligible to tell us much about better conditions. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 83–89.

9. *SCG*, September 17, 1772. For other manifestations of black assertion in urban Charleston see Peter H. Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business' in Revolutionary South Carolina: Republicanism and the Slave Society," in Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 268–93.

10. James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 4–34. For paternalistic arguments, see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan Roll, the World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), xiv–xvii, 3–149, 280–84; also for a more measured discussion of paternalism, see Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 56, 231–32.

11. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973; first pub. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1961), Preface; Ira Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life" in Alfred F. Young, ed. *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 351–52; J. Madison, Jr. to William Bradford, November 26, 1774 and July 10, 1775, William Bradford Collection, HSP; Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business'," 283–87; and his " 'Impatient of Oppression'; Black Freedom Struggles on the Eve of White Independence," *Southern Exposure* 28 (October, 1985): 606, 612–13.

17 113 12. Walter Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Journal*

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30; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 9–10, 18–19; Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 24–29, 50–54, Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 117–18, 121–22; John Phillips, *An Appeal to Matters of Fact and Common Sense, Recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina* (New York: T. Kirk, 1798), passim; Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry." Although Morgan does not see much black participation during the War for Independence (a point on which we disagree), he does note the postwar impact on the Lowcountry in terms of an increased sense of autonomy among blacks which was manifested in a number of ways. See especially 108–41.

19. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 47–51; J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1957 repr. from 1782 ed.), 155–161; Johann Schöepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783–84*, trans. Alfred Morrison (Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1911), 220–221; Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 29; Avonor Samuel to William Tilghman, December 30, 1785, William Tilghman Papers, HSP; Benjamin Rush Medical Notes, July 12, 1803, Rush Corr. v. 2: 64, HSP.

20. Major Pierce Butler to Mrs. Izard, February 25, 1797, Butler to John Hoom, January 6, 1803, Butler to John Cooper, February 15, 1818 and March 7, 1818, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, box 31, fol. 7, HSP; Roswell King to Pierce Butler, September 20, 1835, box 33, fol. 5, Pierce Butler to Mr. Taylor, March 28, 1840, Letterbook, 1838–1840, 53–55, and notation of sale of Butler slaves, February 21, 1859, box 41, fol. 5, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Frances Ann Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, ed. John A. Scott (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 94, 176, 203, 128, 265–66, 273–74.

21. Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 207–08; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only'," 6–8; Letter of John De Brahm, August 28, 1787, Cox-Parrish Wharton Coll., vol. 4, HSP; Pierce Butler letter, July 4, 1789, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, box 31, fol. 1, HSP; Major Pierce Butler to R. Izard, September 8, 1789, SCL; the full account of the expeditions in Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 139.

22. Gerald Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion; Slave Revolts in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 140–161; Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 217–18, 241; Samuel G. Stoney, ed., "The Autobiography of William John Grayson" *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 1 (January, 1948): 29–30; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee, Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow 1986), 118; Carroll, *Slave Insurrections*, 66–67; Harding, *There Is a River*, 62–63.

23. Although white Loyalists were never really compensated for their losses in bondspeople during the War for Independence, Americans fared better after the War of 1812. The dispute over losses in slave property raged on after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. But in 1822, with the Czar of Russia as arbitrator, the dispute was decided in favor of the United States. Britain agreed to pay $1,204,960 for 3,601 slaves, only half of the value claimed by American slave owners. Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 56–57; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 171–72; Harding, *There Is a River*, 62–63; Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 91; November 17, 1862, John Forsyth Mss., SCL.

24. Letter of Rachel Blanding, July 4, 1816, William Blanding Mss., SCL.

25. Ibid.; Trial of Negroes for Insurrection, July 3–17, 1816, Kershaw County Manscripts, SCL.

26. Quoted in Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 258–59; Trial of Negroes, SCL; Blanding Letter, July 25, 1816, SCL.

27. Letter of Rachel Blanding, December 2, 1808, July 25, 1813, SCL.

28. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 118.